1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXt

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. 1.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local differentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipi-nui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4).

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined.

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa.

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

86

133
619
487
631

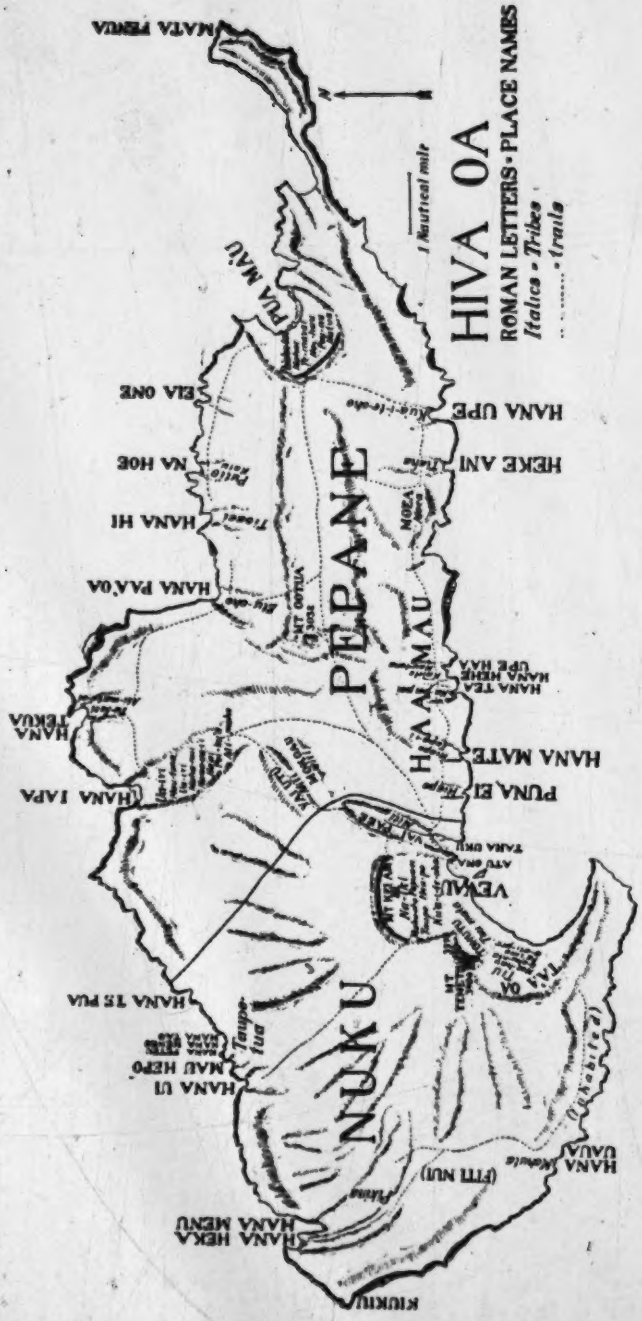

FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 631

valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

621 578

The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621
578

The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

619
487
133

FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.

FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never overthrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'amotua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621
578

Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

133
487
619

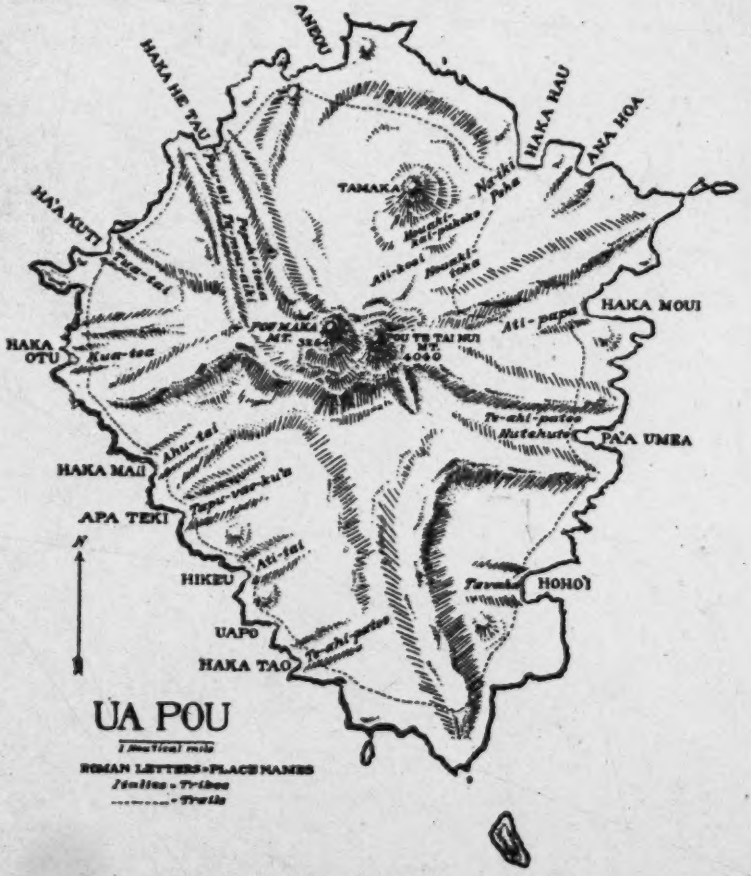

FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still persists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

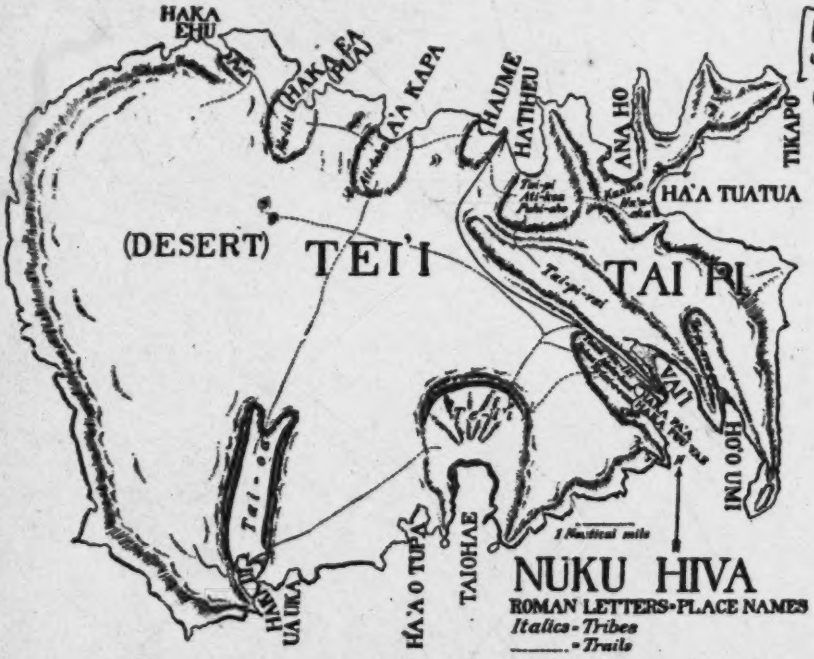

FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

> It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage.

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes.

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224):

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone platform, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone platform; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding platforms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually elevated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,* which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept. These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 621 tive relatives, tribal organization being actually based on this conception of the tribe as a large family unit of which the chief was the head.

CHIEF AND CHIEFESS

622 554 543 The words *haka-iki* and *ha'a-te-pe'iu (haka-te-pe'iu)* were used, respectively, to designate chief and chiefess. These terms carried with them a double implication, first of function, and second of birth. The term *haka-iki* was applied, in the first place, to a man who, through birth, wealth, or social influence, or a combination of these, was regarded as the chief authority in tribal matters, as director of tribal activities, and as the owner of tribal property. In the second place, *haka-iki* referred to the first-born male child of any family, called *tama haka-iki* (or *mata hiapo*, or *hamua)*, who was *tapu* or sacred and for whom certain special rites were performed during life and after death, who did no work, who was from birth the head of his household, and who was served by the rest of his immediate family. All male *tama hamua* (first-born) were called *tama haka-iki*. The first-born male child of a tribal chief was called *tama haka-iki o te haka-iki* (chief child of the chief.) All of the chief's children were called *po'i haka-iki* (chiefly people) or *tuputupu haka-iki* (chiefly stock).

622 554 *Ha'a-te-pe'iu* referred only to a female first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*, and to no other female first-born. A *ha'a-te-pe'iu*, chiefess, female first-born of a chief, was sacred in just the same way as was a male *haka-iki*. She did no work and was attended by members of her own family and of that of her huband. The chief's wife was called *ha'a-te-pe'iu* only if she were such a first-born of a tribal *haka-iki*. Otherwise, she was merely *te vehine o te haka-iki*, the chief's woman. The reason why all first-born females of all familics were not *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu* (daughter chiefesses), as all first-born males were *tama haka-iki* (son chiefs) appear to be this: a male stood as the sacred representative of the family stock; he was *tapu*, sacred. A female, on the other hand, was regarded as a transmitter rather than a representative. First-born females, therefore, as a class, were not sacred as were first-born males; and the sacredness of the first-born female child of the *haka-iki* of the tribe was due rather to position and function as the first-born of the chief, and hence the one who inherited mundane rights, than to the fact that she was a living representative of the sacred ancestral line.

The conception of the great sanctity of the chief—an idea that is common in Polynesia—seems to have been stronger on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou than in the rest of the group. But, even in this northern section where there was only a minor segregation of the chiefly class, there was likewise but a limited belief in their sanctity. It is significant that the terms for

6: Lisianesky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 CX6 Marquesas CX6

Nooahiva, like all the other islands of this group is govern-
622 ed by a number of chiefs, each of whom is independent of the
1804. rest, having a separate district, and different subjects. These
May. [64] chiefs, or kings, are almost always at war with each other.
Though their kingly dignity is, to outward appearance, more
fictitious than real, they enjoy great privileges. They have large
domains, and are in high respect with the people. In a fruitful
[65] season, they have a right to a fourth part of the produce of the
lands of their subjects; and in other seasons, an apportionment
according to circumstances. Their dignity descends to them by
hereditary succession. They can carry on war without consult-
ing their people, and have sometimes a happy mode of making
[66] peace: for example, After war had raged for a long time, both by
sea and land, between the chiefs of the bay of Tayohaia and two
other neighbouring bays, the brother of the king of Tayohaia
married the daughter of one, and his son the daughter of the
other of the two chiefs; and the consequence was a suspension
of hostilities by sea; with this condition, that if both princesses
should finish their days in harmony and happiness with their
husbands, perpetual peace by land, as well as by sea, should
thenceforward prevail between the three nations. How happy
would it be for humanity, how much innocent blood would
be spared, if all the princes of the world would, by similar al-
liances, introduce the reign of peace! But, alas! royal ties are
in general no secure pledge of tranquillity to the respective na-
tions.

627 I have hitherto said nothing of established laws or established
religion; and it appeared to me, as if neither had existence in
the country. With individuals, as with chiefs, the law of right
seemed to be the law of strength; and even violence, theft, and
murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge
might dictate.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lation of Nuku Hiva as 80,000 which is obviously an impossible number. During the early part of the nineteenth century the population declined rapidly as a result of diseases introduced by the European whalers. Du Petit-Thouars, in 1838, estimated the population at 20,000; Houan, in 1856, gave 12,500 as the grand total, and an actual census at the time of Clavel's visit in 1883 showed 4,865. Since that time the decline has been steady but less rapid, the present inhabitants numbering about 3,000, many of whom are Chinese or European half-castes. These half-castes are more resistant to disease than the pure-blood natives and through them the language and fragments of the culture will probably be preserved for several generations. The survival of the pure native stock is doubtful, although in 1920 the natives of the island of Ua Pou, who were only slightly mixed, were holding their own, and those of Ua Huka showed a slight increase in number. The most rapid decline is in the southern islands where intensive European contact is more recent. On one of these islands, Tahu Ata, there are said to be nearly a hundred deaths to every birth. The influenza epidemics, so destructive in Polynesia, did not reach the Marquesas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RELIGION

An account of the religion and social organization of the Marquesas is given by Handy (32), but a resume is necessary as a background for the present study of material culture.

The natives were divided into a great number of tribes which were for the most part mutually hostile. As a rule each of these tribes occupied a single valley, but several of the larger valleys were occupied by two or more tribes who often fought among themselves, although they usually united against outsiders. Thus in the valley of Tai-pi Vai, rendered famous by Melville's narrative, "Typee," there were three groups of people. One group occupied the head of the valley; a second, the middle; and a third, the lower end. The hostility between these groups was so strong that even after their ostensible conversion to Christianity it was necessary to build a church in each section to prevent fights during religious services. No governmental unit larger than the tribe existed, but there appear to have been shadowy confederacies of several tribes, who combined for action in case of hostilities from other tribes. In Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa at least, there were still larger dual divisions, comprising the eastern and western halves of these islands. The only approach to centralized power appears to have been in the island of Ua Pou, where the inhabitants of one valley had extended their sway over all the other tribes, but even here the autonomy of the conquered groups does not seem to have been seriously interefered with.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXo Marquesas OX6

105 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a
643 different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspira-
105 tional priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large
461 families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized
●619 authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships,
484 and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *popoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This community center was rated as part of the chief's household establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded